DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 174 738 UD 019 685

AUTHOR	Arvizu, Steven F.; And Others
TITLE	Demystifying the Concept of Culture: Theoretical and Conceptual Tools, Monograph I.
INSTITUTION	California State Univ., Sacramento. Cross-Cultural Resource Center.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	May 78
NOTE	50p.; For related documents see UD 019 683-688
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Bilingual Education; Cross Cultural Studies; *Cross Cultural Training; *Cultural Awareness; Cultural Factors; *Educational Anthropology; Educational Problems; Effective Teaching; Elementary Secondary Education; *Teacher Education; Teacher Role

ABSTRACT

This monograph describes some concepts and methods developed in anthropology which may help parents, teachers, and other educators clarify their own cultural perspectives. Emphasis is placed on the role that these concepts and methods can play in helping educators, particularly bilingual teachers, deal more effectively with culture based educational problems. Specific topics addressed ethnocentrism; (3) ideal culture and real culture; (4) explicit culture and implicit definitions of culture and its personal nature; (2) cultural relativity and ethnocentrism; (3) cultural insider and cultural outsider; and (6) views of culture as culture; (5) cultural insider and cultural outsider; and (6) views of culture as fixed and changing. Taken into consideration is the role of the teacher as a cultural transmitter. The effectiveness of using the cross cultural perspective of anthropology with students and in training programs for administrators and teachers is also discussed. (EB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED174738

AUG 1 1979

DEMYSTIFYING THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL TOOLS
MONOGRAPH I

BY

STEVEN F. ARVIZU
WARREN A. SNYDER
with
PAUL T. ESPINOZA

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
D. I. Johannes
Cross Cultural Resource Center
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

CROSS CULTURAL RESOURCE CENTER
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SACRAMENTO
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA 95819

MAY 1978

This is a draft document and we request that it not be reproduced without the permission of the CCRC.

UD019885

PREFACE

About the Series "Demystifying the Concept of Culture"

This monograph is a resource item for a training sequence on cross cultural education sponsored by the Cross Cultural Resource Center (CCRC). The training sequence "Demystifying the Concept of Culture" is composed of two monographs and forms the foundation for future training sequences. Monograph I, "Theoretical and Conceptual Tools", deals with the anthropological approach to the concept of culture and presents a series of conceptual tools which are useful for understanding the concept of culture. Monograph II, "Methodological Tools and Techniques", deals with methodology, introducing techniques and tools for studying the many aspects of culture.

The sequence, "Demystifying the Concept of Culture", is aimed toward developing a critical perspective on cultural problems. This series should be useful for many practitioners in multicultural situations who are interested in using new approaches to analyzing and changing conditions in their own communities.

The materials presented in the sequence serve as a take-off point for other topical and substantive concerns of the CCRC. These include monographs on specific cultural groups, the first of which will be on Chicano culture, parent-community participation in education, the cross cultural study of games and play, and educational innovation.

About the Cross Cultural Resource Center

The Cross Cultural Resource Center (CCRC), part of the National Network of Centers for Bilingual Education, funded by the U.S. Office of Education under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, is located in the Department of Anthropology at California State University, Sacramento. It is one of several Training and Resource Centers (TRCs) serving Region IX (Arizona, California, Nevada, Hawaii, Guam, American Samoa, the Northern Marianas, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific). The Center provides supportive services in bilingual, cross cultural education to local education agencies, institutions of higher education, and other agencies that are working to meet the educational needs of students whose native language is other than English, such as Chicanos, Asian Americans and Micronesians.

The CCRC's major purpose is to provide training to bilingual education personnel which will (1) help solve culturally based educational problems, (2) promote effective parent participation in school activities, and (3) provide an understanding of the dynamics of educational change.

Major aspects of the Center's activities are (1) specialization in the cross cultural and comparative dimensions of bilingual bicultural education; (2) fostering interdisciplinary team approaches to in-service training, teaching/learning, and research; (3) collaborating continually with community members, field practitioners, and university faculty; (4) applying the concept of university-without walls training; (5) conceptualization and implementation of training sequences.

The Center's approach to training focuses on the delivery to bilingual education personnel of conceptual and methodological tools which can be applied to ethnic-specific educational settings. These training sequences are designed to be conceptually sound, ethnographically accurate and visionary. The CCRC approaches training in a highly qualitative and long-range manner. Over a three year period the training sequences on culture, parent participation, and the dynamics of educational innovation will form integrated building blocks for improveing the likelihood of success of cross cultural, bilingual education programs. The central concerns of the CCRC are to initiate respect for cultural differences by training people to become analytical, skilled and proficient in dealing with cross cultural school problems and to enhance competencies in meeting the needs of students from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Anthropology as a Training Tool

Consideration of the relationships between culture and education has not kept pace with the rapid expansion of bilingual and multicultural education programs in U.S. schools. Knowledge available from anthropology and other social sciences is rarely made available in relevant form to school practitioners. In fact, few teacher education programs and in-service activities for bilingual/cross cultural school personnel have training sequences which provide systematic attention to anthropological concepts and methodology and their application to the cultural dimensions of bilingual education.

Teachers who lack training in anthropology tend to rely upon a content approach to culture. This approach is often typified by a quantity of information on ethnic groups (a laundry list of traits and facts) with no consistent framework for analyzing, integrating or explaining relationships, patterns and trends, or causes and effects. Sometimes educators accept gross generalizations from outside experts (non-participant academicians) or inside experts (non-academic participants) without realizing that they themselves can act as responsible researchers of their own communities. In addition, some educators, either frustrated with the confusion in definitions or lacking the skills to deal comfortably with cultural matters, simply take no action at all.

School programs which do address the cultural dimensions of education tend generally to fall into two categories: (1) programs designed to teach cultural understanding and (2) programs for minority group students, particularly those whose home language is other than English. In both cases the emphasis of the programs is the difference between ethnic groups and the focus, all too frequently, is on the most exotic aspects of a group culture. In this way programs tend to dwell on an idealized and romanticized version of the heritage of a people. The curricula concentrate upon dance, food, holidays, and history (the fiesta complex) and are generally oblivious to culture as a dynamic, creative, and continuous process which gives meaning to people's lives.

Even when educators do have a fuller conception of culture, they generally are unclear as to how to utilize this knowledge within their classroom instruction. Educators need conceptual and methodological tools for studying culture to free them from their overdependence on outside experts

or commercially developed materials. Equipped with anthropological tools and perspectives, teachers will be more able to achieve the goals of bilingual/cross cultural education. Further, they will be more prepared to counter the growing resistance to bilingual education in the U.S.

Believing in the validity of anthropology as a mode of inquiry in educational problem solving, CCRC seeks to apply anthropological theory, knowledge, and methodology in the following areas:

(1) Subject matter for curriculum content: Because of extensive experience in describing and analyzing different cultural situations, anthropologists provide a wealth of materials which are ethnographically accurate as curriculum materials because they shed information on cultural and ethnic differences and promote pedagogical understanding of multicultural concepts and skills. Concrete manifestations of this information may take such diverse forms as slide presentations, exhibits of cultural artifacts and their use, or oral presentations by an elder from a particular culture.

Life history techniques can be utilized to create relevant "live" curriculum for programs, bridging the worlds of school and community. In addition to adding content to curriculum, the study of children's games and play has implications for analyzing the classroom as a cultural system to learn what values and behaviors are rewarded or discouraged, what skills are fostered, what learning styles are reinforced, what classroom management and organizational styles are practiced.

(2) Understanding learning and motivational styles across cultures: Classroom teachers can enhance their communication and teaching with culturally different students by becoming aware of the cultural context of learning experienced by their students (home and community environment). By modifying classroom pedagogy to cultural patterns appropriate to the home environment, community relations can be improved and learning can be facilitated.

(3) Personnel training: For groups as varied as Peace Corps volunteers, businessmen abroad, and teachers in multicultural situations within the United States, anthropology has provided important guidance for dealing with cultural differences. Besides the important discovery of cultural differences among others, personnel training can also lead to a significant increase in self-awareness and personal growth sparked by the comparison of one's own culture with that of others. Moreover, cross cultural training can provide a knowledge base and repertoire of skills for carrying out professional teaching/learning tasks in an effective manner.

(4) Evaluation of bilingual education programs: In an area like bilingual education, in which cultural factors play such an important role, the anthropological approach provides a much-needed alternative to the usual quantitative evaluation done in educational research. Anthropology, in pursuing a qualitative orientation, attends to community and cultural realities both within and without formal educational programs. It is such neglected factors which are often of critical importance in allowing for evaluation of success, failure, and/or reformulation of bilingual education programs.

(5) Cross cultural pedagogy: Bilingual, cross cultural education practitioners must keep in mind the classroom as a cultural system both when developing and using curriculum materials. The cultural system of the classroom is the dynamic, cross cultural interaction of the teacher's culture and the students' cultures. Since learning and motivation styles vary among various student populations, educators need systematic means for developing an ethno-pedagogy which recognizes and utilizes community resources and out-of-school education influences, such as television and peer groups. Anthropological fieldwork techniques can increase the practitioner's ability to identify cultural differences and similarities among classroom participants and to create teaching strategies appropriate to their clientele.

(6) Educational problem-solving: Too often educators tend to assume that education occurs only in schools and that learning is a vertical process, with adults (namely teachers) instructing students. CCRC uses anthropology to describe and compare educational environments in and out of school from a wide range of cultural situations. Such comparisons are essential in order to identify areas of cultural difference between the home and school. Not infrequently cultural differences create areas of incompatibility and conflict. For example, incompatibilities between the rules of the home and the rules of the school contribute to student under-achievement, apathy, truancy, and even violence.

(7) Constituency Building: Any innovative movement in education needs well designed means for mobilizing support. Informing people of the academic and social successes achieved through bilingual, cross cultural programs will gain allies among non-bilingual education communities. In addition, strong home-school linkages can be achieved through a cross cultural approach to parent participation. The overall public relations component of bilingual education needs to address the issue of achieving basic human and educational rights for all without threatening particular cultural groups or advocating superiority of one group over another. A clear cross cultural philosophy will help build consistency and geometric momentum for bilingual education.

In giving attention to all of the above areas CCRC tries to develop a cross cultural perspective as an essential philosophical and pedagogical foundation for success in bilingual education. We recognize that a cross cultural perspective cannot develop in a vacuum, but it must evolve from people understanding and respecting their own cultural orientations and those of others. In fact, our training reinforces the notions that people are expert contributors of knowledge on their own culture and that trainers and teachers can work across ethnic and cultural lines.

High demand for and limited supply of trained personnel continue to dictate a training strategy which can be applied to many different cultural settings and which can have a geometric impact through the training of teacher trainers. The focus on theoretical and methodological tools for educators and for community people permits generalizable training sequences which can be applied locally. Application to multiple audiences also means addressing personnel at the various levels of the educational hierarchy to build understanding within and between levels.

Cultural Brokers

The present urgent need for training among bilingual educational personnel need not compromise long range considerations of quality in the development of cross cultural specialists. In fact, a well trained parent or teacher can have geometric impact on change as a cultural broker and mediator.

In emphasizing tools and processes, we are cognizant that no single approach, method or idea can keep pace with the diversity of people, situations and conditions that exist in our rapidly changing, multiple society. To appreciate the naturalness of diversity and the multi-dimensional dynamics at work within and between cultures are first steps toward asking relevant questions, identifying problems, and pursuing appropriate solutions. The ideal "product" of our training sequence is a person who knows him/herself culturally, who can come to know others culturally, who understands his/her impact on others culturally, and who can function as a facilitator of learning in a manner which reflects cross cultural understanding. In this way we seek to train people for constructive marginality, people who can function in different worlds, switch eclectically between them, and serve as go-betweens to mediate, assess, and solve problems. Since change is an inevitable force in interaction between people and since schools are a major arena for interaction, it behooves educators to give attention to the processes of cultural maintenance and transformation, mindful of people not only as products of culture but also as active, creative producers of culture.

Note to the Reader

Applying anthropology to education will be new for many readers. As with anything new and unfamiliar, there is a tendency to disregard material which does not appear to address immediate needs. Although a serious attempt has been made to link and apply abstract ideas and terms to educational practice, the reader is encouraged to discover added utility through personal application. The level of language used in the monographs will seem too academic to some, too simplistic to others. This is inevitable given our multiple target audiences and we therefore offer a plea for tolerance among our readers. For those who find the jargon of anthropology difficult, we urge concentration, critical reflection, and application of the substance presented.

Steven F. Arvizu
Margaret A. Gibson
May 1978

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Steven F. Arvizu is an Associate Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Cross Cultural Resource Center at California State University, Sacramento. He has experience as a public school teacher and administrator, teacher trainer, and in applied educational research. He directed the Mexican American Education Project between 1969-73 and has degrees from California State University, Fresno, California State University, Sacramento, and Stanford University.

Warren Snyder is a Professor of Anthropology and for seven years was chairman of the Department of Anthropology at California State University of Sacramento. He has degrees from the University of Washington and has extensive experience in working with Native American, Chicano and other minority groups. His humanitarian interests and scientific background have involved him in numerous human rights activities, including court litigation for Native Americans, Educational Opportunity Programs, Ethnic Studies and the Mexican American Education Project.

Paul T. Espinoza has a B.A. from Brown University, an M.A. from Stanford University and is a candidate for the Ph.D. in Anthropology at Stanford. As a specialist in communication studies and experienced in education, he has provided invaluable assistance in making the substance of the monograph more communicative to non-academic audiences. He has been involved on an ongoing basis as a consultant with CCRC.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Numerous colleagues and participants in CCRC training workshops and courses have generously provided feedback on the preliminary draft of Monograph I (June 1977). In addition, the following people deserve special thanks for their help in editing and revising this document. Paul Espinoza's criticism and follow-through suggestions in reshaping the monograph merited not only our appreciation, but recognition of his input as an assisting author. Margaret Gibson, on an ongoing basis, helped with testing the ideas and content in workshops, courses and with anthropology and education colleagues. Her participation has been consistently professional and greatly appreciated. George Rich helped with critical reading and suggestions on content and examples. Olivia Castellano helped with the proofing. Marta Borrayo and Vee Carney typed the monograph. Max Garcia designed the cover.

We also wish to acknowledge the assistance of both the C.S.U.S. Department of Anthropology and the C.S.U.S. Reproduction Services.

The monograph was developed under a training grant to the Cross Cultural Resource Center, Department of Anthropology, C.S.U.S., from the U.S. Office of Education, under E.S.E.A. Title VII, Bilingual Education Act, Part C. The content, however, is the responsibility of the authors and does not reflect the policy of the U.S. Office of Education.

DEDICATION

To Barbara and the many students like her who have to face cultural problems in school and to all of us as teachers in hopes that we can make schools more responsible to, and understanding of, culture.

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	iii
About the Authors	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
Dedication	x
Chapter One - Introduction: What Culture Is and Is Not	1
Chapter Two - Perception and Cognition--Becoming Aware of Culture in Ourselves	9
Chapter Three - Cultural Relativity and Ethnocentrism--Becoming Aware of Culture In Others	13
Chapter Four - Ideal Culture and Real Culture	17
Chapter Five - Explicit Culture and Implicit Culture	21
Chapter Six - Cultural Insider and Cultural Outsider	25
Chapter Seven - Views of Culture as Fixed and Changing	29
Chapter Eight - Conclusions	33
Notes	41
References	43

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION: WHAT CULTURE IS AND IS NOT

> A highly intelligent teacher with long and successful experience in the public schools of Chicago was finishing her first year in an Indian school. When asked how her Navaho pupils compared in intelligence with Chicago younsters, she replied, 'Well, I just don't know. Sometimes the Indians seem just as bright. At other times they just act like dumb animals. The other night we had a dance in the high school. I saw a boy who is one of the best students in my English class standing off by himself. So I took him over to a pretty girl and told them to dance. But they just stood there with their heads down. They wouldn't even say anything.' I inquired if she knew whether or not they were members of the same clan. 'What difference would that make?'
>
> 'How would you feel about getting into bed with your brother?' The teacher walked off in a huff, but, actually, the two cases were quite comparable in principle. To the Indian the type of bodily contact involved in our social dancing has a directly sexual connotation. The incest taboos between members of the same clan are as severe as between true brothers and sisters (Kluckhohn 1949:19).

In modern American society, where cultural diversity is increasingly prominent, there are few people anywhere in our society who will not encounter situations similar to the one above in which ignorance of cultural differences can lead to confusion, conflict, mistrust and even fear.

Why is it important for those who are involved in bilingual education to know something about the concept of culture? First, culture is an important part of the dynamics of the teaching/learning process in all classrooms, both monolingual and bilingual. Second, culture affects the organization of learning, pedagogical practices, evaluative procedures, and rules of schools, as well as instructional activities and curriculum. Third, attention to the cultural dimensions of education has widespread potential utility in resolving performance dysfunctions and interpersonal

and group conflicts in schools and society. Fourth, public institutions, such as schools, facilitate the cross-cultural learning of their clients as basic tools for effective citizenry, and economic, political, and psychological existence. Fifth, all those involved in the educational process--policy makers, program officials, school personnel, parents, and students--are cultural beings, both products of and producers of culture, influenced in decision-making by their cultural background and orientation. So we should be able to analyze the cultural impact of our actions with regard to the realization of quality education and equity of educational opportunity for all students.

In terms of public relations, bilingual educators need to know about culture for the following reasons: (1) culture is greatly misunderstood and generally not a priority among legislators, policy makers, and officials from federal and state offices responsible for the operation of bilingual education programs; (2) recent evaluation reports and journalistic accounts (Epstein 1978) have misrepresented culture and its relationship to the educational process within U.S. schools generally and bilingual programs specifically; (3) attention to culture as an innovative feature of bilingual programs will likely be given research attention in the future.

Even if we are initially convinced that culture must be taken into account in bilingual education, we face problems of understanding what the concept means. The word "culture" as applied to human beings has been used to mean many different things. The following illustrate some of the range of definitions that people have used:

> An artifact approach to culture, seen in museum displays, emphasizes the world of objects and material products of a cultural group.

A behaviorist definition of culture stresses the observable types of actions which a cultural group employs in their daily lives.

A cognitive definition emphasizes the internal processing of information of a culture, like beliefs and ideas, which are not directly observable.

An evolutionary definition views the relative complexity of a group's organization as a means of determining the stage of development of a group.

A historical definition emphasizes cumulative and developmental aspects in the life of a cultural group.

A structuralist view sees the elements of a culture as similar, parallel systems or products of collective psychology, while a functionalist view sees cultural elements primarily in terms of the functions they serve for the cultural group.

A symbolic approach to culture views behavior as a manifestation of underlying symbolic meanings.

A materialist view sees culture as determined by the technological, economic, and environmental conditions faced by people.

All these definitions or approaches emphasize some aspect of the total life ways of a people and each view helps in understanding some part of social life.

Some meanings of culture are more useful than others when applied to bilingual education. Some meanings of the word "culture" are even harmful if applied to human relationships in the classroom and community (note the "laundry list" or "romantic" approaches mentioned in the Preface). For example, an old meaning of the term is used in describing that which is excellent in the arts, manners, scholarly pursuits, literature, etc. People who are considered to be excellent with respect to these suits are said to be "cultured." Those who are not are considered to be "uncultured." The use of the word "culture" in anthropology does not include this meaning. It is a class-based meaning. People in upper classes in a society are the judges of such excellence and define "culture" in terms of their own interests. Such a meaning of the word "culture" contributes to the conflicts and misunderstandings we are

trying to avoid. It is a part of the problem, not a part of the solution.

Another problem which we have inherited from the past is the confusion of cultural and biological traits by including both within the meaning of "race." In the 19th century, before much was known about biological inheritance, it was common to define "race" not only in terms of biologically inherited traits, such as hair form, nose form, and skin color, but also in terms of what we now consider to be cultural traits, such as nationality, language, and religion. Modern anthropologists distinguish sharply between human characteristics which are genetically inherited and those which are acquired after birth through learning. Only the latter are considered to be cultural characteristics. The evidence now clearly demonstrates that culture is not determined by race (biological inheritance). To the extent that we continue to confuse race and culture, we are a part of the problem, not a part of the solution.

The last example gives us a clue to the meaning of "culture" as used by modern anthropologists. Culture has to do with characteristics of human beings which they acquire after birth through learning. Human infants are helpless at birth and must be cared for by adults if they are to survive. This assures at least some social interaction between adults and infants who survive.

Human young only gradually lose their helplessness and acquire some degree of independence from adults. They do this by learning the customs and symbolic meaning of the adults who have most to do with caring for them and training them. It is through such learning that the young gradually take on the language, symbolism, knowledge, beliefs, skills and customs of the people who care for them and train them. The young become less dependent on adults because they are learning the traditional

ways in which adults in their groups adapt to their environments. The means used to transmit learning during child-rearing affects the learning styles and motivational patterns of children.

For the purpose of this monograph, we shall define culture as follows: Culture is a dynamic, creative, and continuous process including behaviors, values, and substance learned and shared by people that guides them in their struggle for survival and gives meaning to their lives. It is more than the heritage of a people through dance, food, holidays, and history. It is more than a component of bilingual education programs. As a vital process culture needs to be understood by more people in the United States, a multiple society which has many interacting cultural groups.

Culture is dynamic. It is constantly in motion, reflected in people interacting socially with each other and communicating symbolically. Culture is not a thing and does not have a life of its own; it exists through people. Since people are not static, culture is not static.

Cutlure is process. In contrast to other views in which culture is a commodity or product, seeing culture as process emphasizes that it involves series of actions and operations that are cyclical and repetitive. For example, human systems of symbolic communication, especially speech, are complex and open-ended communication systems. They allow us to classify our experiences and talk about them. Individuals in each generation may modify the content of these symbolic communication systems and then pass them on to succeeding generations. Each generation may "deposit" its experiences in the systems of symbolic communication that are traditional in the society and pass this knowledge on through the processes of enculturation and childrearing.

Culture is a context for behavior and values. Culture forms the

backdrop for people's lives--the larger screen upon which the lives of particular individuals are played out. In this sense, culture is like a blueprint or a map or a guide setting the limits within which the rich diversity of life is enacted.

Thus, culture includes both the visible actions of people, like speech and gestures, as well as the less tangible ways they have of thinking, feeling and believing.

Culture is learned. Unlike the physical features of eye color, hair and body build which are transmitted genetically, culture is learned by individuals by virtue of their belonging to a particular group. Using language the individual learns the specific, well-defined ways of thinking and doing which form the pooled knowledge of his cultural group.

Culture is shared. Cultural groups share common beliefs and ways of doing things which allow them to understand one another and interact with a minimum of confusion. This is not to say that there is no individual variation within cultures. Clearly no member of any culture knows all the details of his culture, nor does he have any need to.

Culture is creative. Reflecting the new and constantly changing circumstances of people's lives, culture itself changes and adapts to meet the new situations confronting people. Discoveries and inventions constantly transform the old ways into new, dynamic ways of doing things.

Culture is continuous. No matter how momentous the changes are confronting a particular group, their customs and traditions survive to some extent because of the ongoing, cumulative nature of culture. Old ways often contain the seeds of the new, since the future is always created by people with knowledge from the past. The cumulative nature of culture is demonstrated in the study of historical changes in culture, especially those historical changes which result in new stages of

development and adaptation. This is especially clear in studies of technological change and development. Sometimes historical changes in technology are cumulative in such a way that they lead to new levels or stages of cultural adaptation. This is demonstrated in the transition from hunting and gathering societies to agricultural societies, and from agricultual societies to industrial societies.

Cultural struggle for survival. Culture is not a neutral set of ideas and actions which people select in living their lives. It is rather a set of techniques which each cultural group has evolved in adjusting to their environment and their fellow men. These techniques survive as long as they are useful, but are changed and modified as new circumstances become part of any people's struggle to survive.

Culture gives meaning. The meaning given to objects, interactions, and activities comes from a hierarchy of values and emotions that are significant and fundamental to a group. In as much as individuals share sets of emotions in similar situations, the substance and meaning is guided by cultural tradition.

In this monograph, while for purposes of convenience we may sometimes speak of culture as though it were a thing, we will take the view that culture refers to processes of human social interaction and symbolic communication (including internal communication with ourselves). We can locate culture only within socially interacting and symbolically communicating human beings. This is a useful meaning of "culture" if we are to apply it to social interaction within schools and between schools, parents, and the community.

In what follows we present a number of binary oppositions, that is, sets of concepts which may appear to be contrary to each other, but actually complement each other in further revealing the nature of culture.

These conceptual tools are useful for elaborating and clarifying the concepts of culture. Even though these concepts have more precise and technical terms and meaning in anthropology, they are presented here to demystify culture. In cases where there is an inconsistency in terms of other materials, or where there are more technical parallel terms of the concepts, such is noted.

CHAPTER TWO:

PERCEPTION AND COGNITION--BECOMING AWARE OF CULTURE IN OURSELVES

School personnel may realize that they need to be aware of the patterns of culture in their students and the students' parents. But culture conflict is a two-way street. It may not be so obvious that they need to become aware of culture in themselves. Ideally, the more school personnel, students and parents are aware of their own cultural characteristics, the better all will understand the potential areas of conflict between them.

Aren't we aware of culture in ourselves? The answer is "not entirely". One reason has to do with problems of perception. Place a white object against a white background; it is difficult or impossible to perceive the objects. Place a black object against a white background; now the object and background are easily perceived. Perception, knowledge grasped through the senses as mediated by culture, depends upon contrast. The more an object contrasts with its environment, the more readily it is perceived.

Becoming aware of our behavioral patterns also depends upon contrast. In the United States (and many other parts of the world) it is a matter of custom and habit (as well as law) to drive on the right side of the road. In our everyday lives, we seldom have contrasting experiences which allow us to become aware of this behavioral pattern. Driving on the right side of the road seems to be the "natural" thing to do. If we visit England where it is a matter of custom and habit (as well as law) to drive on the left side of the road, we readily perceive that there is an alternative to our own customary behavior. This helps us realize that what seemed natural

was actually mere convention.

Ordinarily, we are not aware of the fact that normal conversational distance between strangers in the United States is seldom less than about two feet. Since nearly every stranger we meet will follow this customary habit, we have nothing to contrast it with. If we encounter someone from a different society in which the customary distance in such situations may be much shorter, such as Cubans, Portuguese and Hispanics in general, we will tend to back up and retreat from the person as he/she follows us trying to converse with us (Hall 1959).

Anglo Americans might congratulate themselves on having enough sense to keep a proper distance when talking with others. Such self-congratulation would be rudely deflated if we were to come in contact with the Ponapeans of Micronesia. Ponapean people complain that Americans get too close to them when they talk. From these examples, and others which could be presented, it is clear that it is not always easy for us to perceive our own behavioral patterns.

The concept of culture includes, but is not identical with, the notion of socially shared customary behavior. The customary behaviors, which we share with almost all people with whom we come in contact, will not be obvious to us because of lack of contrast. Thus, we are not ordinarily aware of many aspects of our own culture. As the anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn said: "It would hardly be a fish who would discover water" (Kluckhohn 1949).

An individual does tend to share behavior patterns with those with whom he/she has intimate, long-term social interaction. We do not, however, share all behavior patterns with everyone in our group. Kluckhohn relates the story of a newly arrived teacher on the Navajo reservation who found the first grade girls intelligent and friendly, while the boys were slow and

uncooperative. It turns out that the teacher had the children making pottery. It is hardly surprising that the boys were slow and uncooperative since the behavior patterns involved in making pottery identify the person as a female among the Navajo (Kluckhohn 1947). Notice that in this example there are no differences in perceiving or describing behavior. It is the interpretations of the behaviors that are different. Not only do we perceive events but we also process our perceptions internally and interpret them, that is, we conceptualize. This is cognition.

Overt socially shared behavior patterns are not confined merely to symbolic communication. We can talk to ourselves internally. Human beings have the capacity to be both subject and object, actor and audience, to themselves. Human beings internalize social experiences. Self-identification, to the extent that it is due to symbolic communication, is an important aspect of culture within ourselves. Anthropologist Mary Ellen Goodman says that the sense of self "...depends heavily on language...on labels for self and others, for our own and other persons' possessions. In his second year of life the child speaks and thinks increasingly with the aid of linguistic tools" (Goodman 1970:26).

The concept of culture, therefore, must take into account both the observable customary behavior patterns and the inner symbolic communication of the individual. Even though we cannot observe the latter directly in others, each of us can become aware of it in ourselves. Analysis of the observed behavior of others leads us to believe that thought processes, such as those we can experience in ourselves, must be occurring in others too but that sometimes the thought processes differ.

PROJECTS:

1. A TV commercial shows actors mistaking a Ford for a Cadillac. In terms

of perception and cognition, what effect are the writers of the commercial trying to have on viewers?

2. What are some terms which are sometimes applied to individuals from various groups in your community which may cognitively affect your perception of such individuals?

3. A graduate student in anthropology has pointed out that if recycling programs are to be more successful in modern society, we will have to modify our use of the word "garbage." What is the reasoning behind this argument in terms of perception and cognition?

CHAPTER THREE:

CULTURAL RELATIVITY AND ETHNOCENTRISM--BECOMING AWARE OF CULTURE IN OTHERS

> The U.S. Navy landed on a Pacific Island in World War II. The health officer felt that the presence of flies constituted a health problem that, with the assistance of the natives, could be easily conquered. He asked the chief to assemble his people, to whom he gave a health lecture illustrating the horrors of fly-borne diseases with a foot-long model of the common house fly. He believed he had made his point until the chief replied, "I can well understand your preoccupation with flies in America. We have flies here too, but fortunately they are just little fellows"(Foster 1962).

This humorous story demonstrates that the interpretation of an experience is relative to the cultural background of the person having the experience. Thus two people with different cultural backgrounds may interpret and react to the same experience in very different ways. This is what anthropologists mean by "cultural relativity."

To assume the position of cultural relativity is to recognize that there is a wide range of possible human responses to experiences because of differences in cultural interpretation. It also helps us to recognize that our own cultural interpretations are a part of that range. If we know something about the range of cultural differences in human societies, we are better able to become aware of culture in ourselves by contrast. To the extent that we are able to do this, we gain a great advantage in our efforts to understand the culture of others and to avoid conflicts and misunderstandings in cross cultural situations.

On a purely rational basis we may agree that this is the best thing to do, but few of us are likely to find it an easy thing to do. Easiest is the opposite of cultural relativity, ethnocentrism. To be ethnocentric is to be sure that our own cultural interpretations are correct and superior compared to the interpretations of those with different cultural backgrounds. Human beings generally tend to be ethnocentric. This is hardly surprising since a positive self-image is partly based on our feelings of the positive worth of our group's customs. In addition, if our life expectations are being reasonably well met, we have a vested interest in the survival and continuation of the groups to which we belong and to their cultural patterns.

At first glance this seems to pose a dilemma which cannot be solved, the question of how we can be cultural relativists if we are ethnocentric. It is not necessary for us to give up entirely our positive self-images and tendencies toward ethnocentrism in order to adopt a position of cultural relativism. It is only a matter of modifying the rigidity of our ethnocentrism. Indeed, to become aware of ethnocentrism in ourselves may help us to appreciate and respect ethnocentrism in others. Tolerance for cultural pluralism is increased if we recognize that others have positive feelings about the worth of their cultures, just as we do about the worth of ours. Ethnocentrism is a disadvantage in successful cross cultural relationships largely to the extent that we are unaware of it.

If we interpret the behavior of those who are culturally different from ourselves only in terms of our own rigid ethnocentrism, we will not be able to become aware of their cultural characteristics or develop an understanding and appreciation of them.

EXAMPLES:

1. In Micronesia, the schools have been interested in increasing the level of parent participation. In dealing with this problem, the schools which have been modeled along U.S.patterns are encouraged to use a plan for parent participation which had been developed in the United States. This plan assumed that the family is the nuclear family of parents and children where marriage is an arrangement between two individuals. This assumption is an ethnocentric one, since in Micronesia the family can also include clan members beyond the nuclear family and can be understood only in terms of village kinship organization.

2. In an American-staffed hospital on an island in Polynesia, a hospital rule of allowing only members of the immediate family to visit critically ill patients was adopted. Members of the hospital staff became extremely annoyed when large numbers of people insisted that they were members of the immediate family of critically ill patients. Staff members who were mostly Westerners concluded that Polynesians are awful liars. What they didn't know was that in the Polynesian kinship system the kinship term used for the biological mother is also used for her sisters and her husband's sisters, and the kinship term used for the biological father is also applied to his brothers and his wife's brothers. Furthermore, the kinship terms used for biological brothers and sisters are also used for what we call cousins. Finally, all of these terms may be extended to even more remotely related persons.

3. The United States prides itself on the efficiency of its industrialized system and is often guilty of an ethnocentric attitude in evaluating the 'inefficiency' of other economic systems, for instance that of peasants in the Third World. In taking a closer look at our own system, how efficient is the common practice of closing factories on the weekends or beginning work at 8 o'clock and stopping promptly at 5 o'clock? These

practices stem from the fact that our work is time oriented. In many societies work is task oriented. They work until a task is completed and do not feel compelled to "make work" if there are no tasks that need to be done. Such people would find our practices of "making work" or stopping work before tasks are completed to be very illogical and inefficient. Also, what sense does it make to reserve one day (Sunday) for religion and not relate it to work?

4. Many Americans are often appalled by the descriptions of initiation rites in tribal societies, where both men and women often go through painful ceremonies to 'come of age.' They may not be as appalled with the common practice in our own society of keeping the aged in institutions where conditions are often very severe. Some cultural groups would regard this practice as barbaric, since the aged in their societies are given special treatment and accorded high status.

PROJECTS:

1. Consider your own family background. What assumptions do you make about the composition of families? What kinds of differences can you preceive in families within the community you now live in? How might these reflect cultural differences?

2. Consider some 'bizarre customs' you have heard about in other cultues. Why do these customs seem strange? How do you think a member of that society would explain their existence?

3. If you are a teacher, ask your students to draw a picture of a school. What does it look like? In what ways does their view of a school differ from yours? Are there differences in pictures drawn by children from different cultural backgrounds?

CHAPTER FOUR:

IDEAL CULTURE AND REAL CULTURE

> The Comanches [often] married their young girls to older men. Ideally, it is said, the couple loved and respected each other--especially the girl her husband. Actually, a considerable number of romance-seeking wives ran off with dashing young warriors (Hoebel 1949).

In all human societies, people make statements about how people behave or how they ought to behave. Anthropologists refer to what people say they believe or say they do or ought to do as ideal culture. These ideas may be expressed in stories, myths, sayings, riddles, rituals, dramas, jokes, stereotypes, or ordinary conversation.

Close examination of the way in which people actually behave in real situations often reveals that their real behavior is not entirely consistent with their ideal culture. The way in which people really behave in actual situations is called real culture by anthropologists.

A little thought about our own lives shows that there is often a discrepancy between what we say we ought to do in a certain situation and what we actually do. The standards expressed in ideal culture are general guides to behavior. However, what people really do, real culture, will often differ from ideal culture since unforeseen factors enter into people's decisions in particular circumstances.

Let's take the example of a stop sign in our own society. If we asked people what it means, most would respond that if a person is driving a car and comes to such a sign, the person should stop before crossing the intersection. Observation of the real behavior of many drivers at many

intersections would reveal that this is not always the case. Whether a driver stops completely or only slows down depends upon such elements as visibility, the amount of traffic, the time of day or night, the anxiety of a driver to get to his destination, whether or not a traffic patrolman may be in the vicinity, the emotional state of the driver, and many other variables. A realistic understanding of a culture requires, therefore, that our knowledge go beyond the ideal culture. We must know something about the real culture as well.

This is why stereotypes, even good descriptions of the culture of a group, are so often uncertain guides to predicting or understanding the behavior of particular individuals. Customary patterns from ideal culture may be viewed as general guides to behavior; however, many variables enter into an individual's decision-making in particular circumstances.

EXAMPLES:

1. Among the Chiricahua Apaches a man who discovers that his wife has been unfaithful is expected to take drastic action, sometimes to the point of killing his wife and the other man. An anthropologist who studied the group, however, found that husbands often pretended great fury but did not take extreme steps. (Opler 1941).

2. Consider the idealized belief, long cherished in America, that medical doctors are selfless, friendly people who choose medicine as their profession because they feel themselves 'called' to serve humanity, and who have little interest in either the money or prestige of their position. Of course, many physicians do not measure up to this ideal. Nevertheless, the continued success of television programs that portray the average American M.D. as a paragon of virtue indicates that the ideal of the noble physician is

deeply rooted in our collective phyche (Ember and Ember 1977).

3. People in the United States often speak about "equal opportunity for all" when describing the availability of goods and services in our society. A closer look at the real distribution of services in health and education, to take only two examples, would reveal the gap between ideal and real culture.

PROJECTS:

1. In a classroom with a group of people, complete the following statements:

Americans are _____.

All men are born _____.

Anyone can get to the top if they _____.

It isn't a person's background that counts, it is what ___ _____.

Using the answers to these statements, start a discussion about the differences between ideal and real culture in the United States.

2. Consider a bilingual education program. Identify the ideals for the program and have someone else identify the realities of the program. After sharing your information with each other, contrast your views in a staff meeting or some other place where others in bilingual education gather. Note how much support there is for each position and whether it is possible to bring the two positions together in planning a group activity such as conducting the next advisory committee meeting, discussing a final report, or planning inservice for the coming year.

CHAPTER FIVE:

EXPLICIT CULTURE AND IMPLICIT CULTURE[1]

> Missionaries in Polynesia were very disturbed by the widespread promiscuity they found among adolescents. The missionaries attempted to show the 'natives' that such behavior was highly immoral, since in the Christian tradition sex activity and morals are closely linked. However, the natives never really understood the missionaries admonitions in this regard, since for them morals were concerned with sex just about as much as with eating--no less and no more (Kluckhohn 1949).

Though sexual behavior has restrictions in all societies, the underlying premises for those restrictions are different the world over. These premises or basic assumptions which are often taken for granted and not easily observable are called implicit culture. Explicit culture, on the other hand, consists of those observable elements of a people's culture about which they can easily verbalize. Explicit culture includes such things as style of dress, speech, house types, tools, and concrete behavior. Explicit culture is easily recognized,whereas implicit culture is not.

E. Adamson Hoebel developed the idea of postulates as a means of expressing the deep-lying assumptions or premises of a culture. The postulates of a culture are a combination of explicit and implicit culture. As Hoebel says: "Some of the basic postulates of a culture may be explicitly stated by the people who hold them. Others are so taken for granted, or else the people are so unused to reflecting about their beliefs, that they are not themselves able to state them"(Hoebel 1958).

Francis L.K. Hsu has deduced a set of postulates for traditional

China and for the United States from his study of the two cultures. His first postulate and some of the corollaries for each culture demonstrate contrast in assumptions between the two.

CHINA

POSTULATE I. An individual's most important duty and responsibility are toward his parents, which take precedence over any other interest, including self-interest. The essential expression of this is filial piety. Filial piety is the individual's way of repaying parents for giving him life and raising him.

Corollary 1. An individual must marry and have sons. That is the highest of all filial duties.
Corollary 2. Besides providing heirs, an individual's duty and responsibility towards parents include material support and living together, respect and obedience, proper mourning and burial, care of their souls through worship in the household shrine and clan temple, and glorification of the ancestors by his achievements.
Corollary 3. With reference to their children, parents are always right.

THE UNITED STATES

POSTULATE I. An individual's most important concern is his self-interest: self-expression, self-development, self-gratification, and independence. This takes precedence over all group interests.

Corollary 1. After self-interest the individual's responsibility toward his wife and minor children (in that order) takes precedence over all else.
Corollary 2. The individual has little responsibility toward his parents and no responsibility toward other kinsmen.
Corollary 3. Upon reaching adulthood an individual is free to do anything (Hsu 1969).

Culture is implicit (unconscious) or explicit (consciously recognized) only in relation to individuals at some point in time. An important function of cross cultural comparisons is often the effect it has of changing an individual's implicit culture to explicit culture, that is, of bringing to consciousness his/her formerly unrecognized cultural assumptions.

EXAMPLES:

1. On the island of Yap in Micronesia, important transformations have taken place at the local level of government. The reasons given for these changes are to accomodate and facilitate interaction with trust territory administrators. At the level of explicit culture, the reorganization seems to have replaced the traditional cultural positions altogether, since the elected officials are usually individuals whose formal education enables them to deal with territory officials. A closer look at the new system shows that there is an important group of locally elected municipal judges who deal with local problems and disputes. These judges turn out invariably to be traditional village chiefs who possess ceremonial stones called yalen and whose high status in traditional Yapese culture is maintained within the new system. Thus the new system draws much of its authority from the fact that it reinforces the implicit cultural value in Yap society that power should reside in aged men.

2. Mr. Jones recently received a promotion in his job and traded in his Volkswagen sedan for a Mercedes Benz. At the explicit cultural level, this act on Mr. Jones' part might be interpreted as his satisfying his need for a larger car. However, at the implicit level he was acting on the premise that one's status should be conspicuously displayed.

3. In Navajo culture, the fact that part of the design of a pot is consistently missing, that a woven blanket is usually left partially unfinished, and that a medicine man always leaves a little bit of the story untold when instructing an apprentice, may not mean much taken separately. However, interpreted together, these facts form a theme which could be called "a desire to avoid closure," which can be understood as part of the implicit culture of the Navajo.

PROJECTS:

1. Many people assume that it is only human nature to pick a job which pays a high salary. How does an understanding of implicit culture in the United States help us explain the fact that most women would rather work as a hostess in a restaurant than as a waitress at a higher salary?

2. Think of some examples of implicit culture within your own group which might not be obvious to an outsider. What evidence can you give for their existence? How might they help an outsider explain some of your behavior which might otherwise appear irrational?

3. Children's games frequently reflect the internal (implicit) culture of a people. Thus recreational activities fostered by the school model the cultural assumptions upon which educational aims and processes are based. Analyze the underlying value reinforced through games/sports sponsored by schools. Compare these activities with those played informally, out-of-school, by children of different ethnic groups. Do you perceive any incompatibilities, or are school-sponsored games generally in concert with local play traditions?

CHAPTER SIX:

CULTURAL INSIDER AND CULTURAL OUTSIDER[2]

> A visitor to one society reported the following story: "The daily body ritual performed by everyone includes a mouth rite. This rite involves a practice which strikes the uninitiated stranger as revolting. It was reported to me that the ritual consists of inserting a small bundle of hog hairs into the mouth, along with certain magical powders, and then moving the bundle in a highly formalized series of gestures.
>
> In addition to the private mouth-rite, the people seek out a holy-mouth man once or twice a year. These practitioners have an impressive...variety of augers, awls, probes, and prods. The use of these objects in the exorcism of the evils of the mouth involves almost unbelievable ritual torture of the client....In the client's view, the purpose of these ministrations is to arrest decay and to draw friends. The extremely sacred and traditional character of the rite is evident in the fact that the natives return to the holy-mouth man year after year, despite the fact that their teeth continue to decay" (Miner 1956).

This facetious description of dental practices in the United States might have been written by an outsider to Western culture. In this description, the familiar dental scene takes on a very unfamiliar quality when described by an outsider. What one sees and understands in other people's behavior is largely dependent upon one's point of view. Generally, one views his/her own culture as an <u>insider</u> and other cultures as an <u>outsider</u>. Anthropologists try to make use of both perspectives, insider and outsider, in understanding cultural diversity.

To use an analogy, consider the difference between a description of the pieces used in a chess game given by an observer with no knowledge of chess and a description given by someone who knows how to play the game. The first description would probably include a detailed description of

each piece and the board upon which the pieces are placed. The second description would include more details about how the different pieces are used, their relative value under different conditions, and would probably leave out much of the detail of the first description. Each description has its own value depending upon what one wants to know about chess.

And so it is with culture. In observing and interpreting people's behavior, the outsider often brings a fresh perspective, using criteria which are external to the culture being examined. The insider will probably describe his/her culture in terms of ideal and explicit culture. While this will leave out some of the descriptive details of the first account, it will add new details which help us to understand the culture from the point of view of those who participate in it.

Both the insider and outsider perspectives have their advantages and disadvantages in understanding culture. To get as full a picture of a culture as possible, it is necessary to blend the two perspectives. Certain aspects of a culture will only become clear after one has actually lived with and had close contact with members of that cultural group.

The grammatical rules of a language provide us with an example. How aware are most people of the complex rules they employ when they speak? The anthropological linguist who studies a people's speech patters can reveal to the cultural insider the unconscious rules which he/she uses in everyday speech.

It is understandable that the anthropological linguist becomes very excited about these discoveries. He/she may be disappointed to find that most cultural insiders aren't very interested in these details at all. They are much more interested in how the language is used by telling stories.

conducting rituals, speaking to people occupying different statuses, instructing a child on proper conduct, etc. The linguist's description reveals little about these aspects of the language just as the cultural insiders descriptions reveal little about grammatical structure.

Thus, being an outsider does not mean that someone else's view of the world cannot be understood, nor does being an insider mean that one necessarily completely understands one's own culture. Both outside and inside perspectives need to be utilized in understanding culture.

EXAMPLES:

1. Certain societies in tropical areas prohibit women from engaging in sexual intercourse until after their two year olds are ready to be weaned. Anthropologists have noticed that this pattern of postpartum sex taboos occurs often in areas where a severe protein deficiency disease (kwashiorkor) is prevalent (Whiting 1964). The anthropologist can show that this taboo enables the infant to have a better chance for survival since without the taboo the mother could become pregnant again and would no longer continue to nurse the child and provide it with sufficient amounts of protein in early years. Mothers (cultural insiders) appear to be unaware of this faction of the taboo.

2. Anglo teachers in some Native American schools have often felt very frustrated over what they perceive as lack of motivation on the part of Native American children. These teachers often assume that all children are motivated to get high grades. As outsiders to these Native American cultures, Anglo teachers fail to see an important value which would be clear to an insider--namely, that the achievement of high grades would result in the student's being singled out from his fellows. Such singling out goes against the values of some Native American cultures and would be

avoided at all costs by most students.

3. Many large companies which do business in other countries have often been annoyed by the slow pace with which business deals are completed. Such deals may often involve many meetings which the businessmen from the United States regard as simply 'social' gatherings. What the businessmen, the outsiders in this instance, fail to understand is that in many cultures, 'social' occasions may be as important to insiders as actual 'business' meetings in the establishment of a successful working relationship.

PROJECTS:

1. The next time you are at a cultural event in your own community, for example a football game or a parade, try to imagine how you might perceive this same event if you were from another community or another culture. What parts of it would you understand? How would you go about learning what was happening at the event?

2. Consider some situation you have been in where a misunderstanding arose between you and a member of another cultural or ethnic group. Why do you think this misunderstanding occurred? How might an insider perspective on the other person's background have helped you in understanding the situation?

CHAPTER SEVEN

VIEWS OF CULTURE AS FIXED AND CHANGING[3]

> There is a tendency for all people to view their most basic institutions as fixed and static unless extraordinary stress forces them to become aware of the impact of change and of the dynamics of culture. For instance, many, if not most, Euro-Americans have maintained a static view of the ideal nuclear family household as the cornerstone of our society and as stable and enduring. The relatively sudden awareness of change has shattered this view for many. Because they have not had a continuing awareness of the dynamic effects of increased industrialization, increased individual mobility, and increased emphasis on individualism, they view widespread domestic stress as a recent and sudden erosion of "American" values.

Anthropologists recognize that in studying culture one has to make use of both fixed and changing approaches to culture.

We all have a tendency to view some aspects of our culture and of other cultures as fixed and unchanging. Often times, for study or communication purposes, it is important to describe a culture in the present, or at some given point in time. A fixed approach to culture allows us, at a given point in time, to focus our attention in depth on particular parts of a culture and their relationships and contributions to the maintenance of the total culture. A fixed approach tends to be a static perspective, much as a still photograph fixes its contents in time and allows one to study and appreciate the detail which is documented at a later point in time. The weakness of a fixed approch is that it is an ideal construct, and not actually that which exists or is occurring.

A changing approach to culture is the study of the historical development of a culture, or the view of a culture as it is in action, or in the process of becoming different. A changing approach tends to be a dynamic perspective. It gives us a comparative view of a culture over many points in time, allowing for a more complete historical context for viewing

continuities and changes in a given culture, as well as allowing us to observe and understand processes at work, and in motion.

It is time and scope of analysis that distinguishes these two approaches. Each approach adds something to our understanding of culture, and the combination of both fixed and changing approaches helps develop accuracy in the description, or representation, of a culture.

EXAMPLES:

1. Let us assume that we want to know how a school system works. We might start by consulting the organizational chart of the school which would show who works in the school and what their relative positions are. This information, however, would only give us a fixed picture of the school. To gain a more complete picture of what a school is and how it works, it would be necessary to actually observe a school in action over time. Here we would be utilizing a changing approach to the study of the school.

2. When many people talk about the "family" in the United States, they often think of a nuclear family which is composed of the working father, the housewife mother, and a son and daughter. This fixed view of the family is a static one which ignores many important factors affecting the family. If we adopt a changing approach to the family, we can begin to consider many new facts which give us a more accurate picture of the American family. These facts include the rising divorce rate, the increasing participation of women in the work force, and the changing sex roles in our society.

3. "Consider a musical sequence made up of three notes. If we are told

that the three notes in question are A, B, and G, we receive information which is fundamental (and which gives us a fixed view of the musical sequence). But it will not enable us to predict the type of sensation which the playing of this sequence is likely to evoke. We need many different sorts of relationship data (data which will give us a changing view of the musical sequence). Are the notes to be played in that or some other order? What duration will each receive? How will the emphasis, if any, be distributed?" (Kluckhohn, 1949)

PROJECTS:

1. Think about the image which is produced of different cultural groups in the celebration of such holidays as St. Patrick's Day, the Cinco de Mayo, and Columbus Day. What kind of approach to culture do these celebrations reflect? How accurate are the images of these cultures which are represented in these celebrations?

2. Consider a baseball game. How would you explain the game to someone who knew nothing about it? How might you combine both a fixed and a changing approach to your explanation?

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

Anthropology is not a panacea for bilingual education, but as a mode of inquiry it can provide a set of tools to those who are interested in understanding and studying what occurs in classrooms, schools and communities. The conceptual tools presented in the preceding pages are intended to be used along with other resources available to assist personnel in providing quality education in bilingual programs. Though concepts and techniques are often mystified by scholars, it is important that parents, teachers, students and administrators understand that they are capable of participating in many research activities and using conceptual tools for analysis.

For purposes of summation we might outline the conceptual tools we have discussed, this time providing brief synopses of the purposes of each dichotomy.

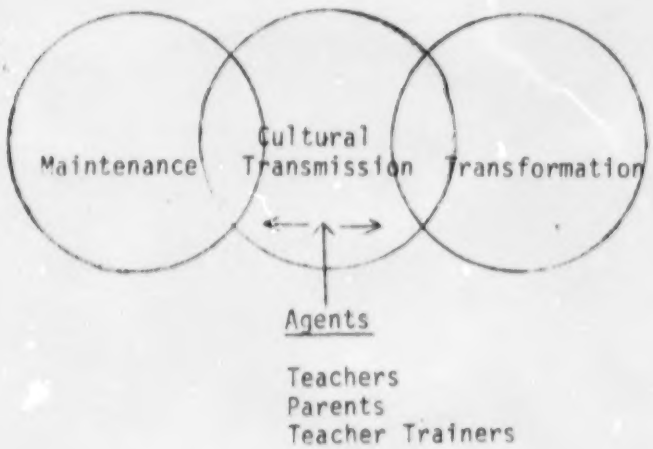
Ideal and Real Culture	To distinguish between what people say they do or ought to do, how they believe they should behave, and what people actually do.
Explicit and Implicit Culture	To distinguish between the readily visible, observable aspects of culture, such as artifacts and behavior, and the invisible aspects of culture, such as values, premises, beliefs, fears, and attitudes.
Outsider and Insider Descriptions of Culture	To distinguish between descriptions of another peoples' culture based on criteria external to that culture, and descriptions which employ the taxonomies and conceptual categories employed by the practitioners of the culture.

Ethnocentrism and Cultural Relativity	To distinguish between a view of another peoples' behavior using one's own culture as the basis for evaluation and judgment, and a view which strives to comprehend and understand another peoples' behavior in terms of the context in which it occurs and their view of the situation.
Fixed and Changing	To distinguish between a description or ethnography which is specific to a given time frame, and one which is historical. To distinguish between cultural patterns as fixed entities or structural relationships, and culture as a living, growing, and changing phenomenon.

All of these tools become more useful when combined in multi-faceted approaches to specific situations and problems.

CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

Every culture is facing transformations and changes, some more profound and endangering than others. This sometimes results in cultural clashes and unresolved problems, especially for educators, since schools tacitly function as agencies for transmitting culture. Schools then become battlegrounds between forces advocating the maintenance of the status quo and forces pressuring for change.



The conceptualization of culture also necessitates the exploration of the role of the teacher in the cultural interaction involving schools.

TEACHER AS CULTURAL TRANSMITTER

For cultural patterns to be learned they must either be transmitted between people or be products of independent invention. Since schools often function as agencies for transmitting and maintaining culture, school personnel also are key agents for transmitting cultural messages to students. There are those who are clear about their intentions and insightful about the consequences of their behavior for others. Classroom organization, materials, curriculum, and the relationship between teacher and pupil can engender conflict and confusion as to what is transmitted culturally. The confusion occurs when unintended results do not match the intended goals of the people involved. Although cultural contradictions exist and may be stimulated in schools, the adjustment of teachers to cross-cultural conflict situations can take many predictable forms as indicated by the following examples cited by anthropologist George Spindler. One possible response by teachers to conflicting value systems is to minimize personal threat by reaffirming her/his own traditions through rigidly projecting traditional values (personal or idealized) in classroom behavior. An opposite adaptive response may involve overcompensation in the direction of the new system. One who chooses the latter is labeled by Spindler as a "compensatory emergentist." Another type of response is that typified by the vacillator, one who faces value conflicts by internalizing parts from various systems but not in a coherent, consistent way. The resulting confusion is not limited to the teacher but is transmitted to the

students. An ideal type of adaptive response is that of the culturally well-adjusted teacher. This person knows herself/himself culturally, knows the students culturally, and knows how to formulate learning experiences which respect self and others culturally. The cultural contradictions that may exist in a given situation are then not necessarily transmitted by the adjusted teacher, but dealt with openly and directly in a comparative, cross-cultural manner. (Spindler, 1976).

KNOWERS AND NON-KNOWERS

One difficulty concerning cultural knowledge is considering its source. If one accepts the propositions that all groups and individuals possess the capacity to create and acquire culture, then all people are knowers when it concerns their own cultural experiences. Yet because of the diversity of cultures which exist in the world we are all also non-knowers. Therefore people who wish to gain a cross-cultural, comparative perspective and develop a respect to similarities and differences need to see themselves and those around them as potential sources of knowledge. Perhaps an example from Micronesia will illustrate this point.

Micronesians can learn from one another by each sharing knowledge with each other. Each group has specialties to be shared:

--people of Mokil are deep sea fishermen and skillful boat builders by tradition

--people of Ponape usually fish the reefs

--the Mortlocks are good at navigating

--a man from Saipan knows how to keep bees

--one from Palau knows how to operate the hydroelectric plant

Similarities can also be seen in geography (all are islanders), in needs and problems of survival, in the political future, and in interests in building successful schools.

Bilingual programs can be useful in maximizing choices for the future in permitting more choices which will allow an individual to adapt in the way one judges most fitting.

Teachers and parents can develop techniques which will assist pupils in becoming aware of cultural similarities and differences, and potential or actual culture conflicts. They can become their own ethnographers. They can become aware of insider interpretations in themselves and others and use outsider tools to analyze them.

By coordinating their respective talents anthropologists and educational practitioners can work together to ask the right questions in identifying the cultural conflicts and dilemmas resulting from contact between different groups. The authors of this monograph encourage readers to go beyond the mere study of problems to the search for pragmatic solutions which are humanistically respectful of the people involved.

Teachers and parents must become critical of gross generalizations

made by experts either from inside or outside of specific cultures. Often it is the practitioners most deeply involved in specific communities who must act responsibly to develop a perspective on culture which is relevant to their own communities. This monograph has offered some concepts and methods developed in anthropology which can be of some help in clarifying the reader's concept of culture. Ideally, the reader is encouraged to delineate his own view of culture and those of the people with whom he interacts.

It is important for those involved in bilingual-bicultural programs to reflect upon the cultural perspective which is being used in their programs. If there is no clear perspective this monograph may be helpful in stimulating those involved to participate actively in generating one. If there is a perspective and readers are dissatisfied with it, they may find herein some support for challenging and transforming it.

Operationalizing cross-cultural understanding cannot be left to chance, especially when so few alternatives exist for minimizing cultural clashes and maximizing human resources. Where various cultural groups come into contact, it is essential for the efficient and effective operation of a school that personnel have the skill and training to understand cultural differences and behave in a sensitive way in facilitating the teaching-learning process. Since learning in modern society has become a lifelong process and increased mobility has made culture contact a prevalent reality, it is essential that all students have the benefit of cross-cultural learning experience.

The comparative, cross-cultural perspective of anthropology is not only useful for the learner. If bilingual education, as a pedagogically

innovative movement is to succeed, the anthropological perspective needs to be developed and implemented in the training of personnel, both administrators and teachers. Effective training can produce a well-informed and trained population of practitioners who will be instrumental in insuring the success of bilingual education.

This revised, second edition of Monograph I has profited greatly from the ideas and suggestions of readers of the first edition of the Monograph. We encourage such feedback from readers and look forward to continuing dialogue on the concept of culture. We hope that the ideas in this monograph challenge the reader to examine her/his own ideas about culture and to reflect critically about the role of culture in her/his own life and those around her/him.

We caution the reader that no single theory or concept will explain a complex situation or provide overall solutions to all problems. Conceptual and theoretical tools like those presented in this monograph, however, can be useful in initiating the process of dialogue and helping to demystify the concept of culture. A clear analytical perspective removes some of the mystery of culture, making the various perspectives presented conceptual tools with potential for use in bilingual cross-cultural programs.

Other CCRC materials treat added conceptual tools involving domestication/liberation, cultural action for freedom, and expound upon the various roles involved in being a cultural broker.

Monograph II which follows provides an overview of methodological techniques as tools for studying and learning about culture(s).

NOTES

1. Overt culture and covert culture are the terms usually referred to in anthropological writings to represent implicit and explicit views of culture.
2. The anthropological terms, which come from linguistics, are emic for inside view and etic for outside view. Most references in the literature are to the more technical terms.
3. Anthropologists refer to synchronic and diachronic perspectives.

REFERENCES

Ember, C.R. and M. Ember
1977 Anthropology (Second Edition). Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc.

Foster, G.M.
1962 Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change. New York: Harper and Bros.

Goodman, Mary Ellen
1970 The Culture of Childhood. New York: Teacher College Press.

Hall, Edward T.
1959 The Silent Language, Fawcett Publications.

Hoebel, E. Adamson
1949 Anthropology: The Study of Man. (Third Edition) New York: McGraw Hill.

1958 Man in the Primitive World. New York: McGraw Hill.

Hsu, Francis L.K.
1969 The Study of Literate Civilizations. New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston.

Kluckhohn, Clyde
1947 "Covert Culture and Administrative Problems." American Anthropology, Vol. 45.

1949 Mirror for Man. New York: McGraw Hill.

Miner, H.
1956 "Body Rituals among the Nacirema," American Anthropologist 58:504-05.

Opler, M.E.
1941 An Apache Lifeway. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.